

PSYCHOANALYSIS
AND
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Foreword.

This annual presents the psychonanalytic point of view on all subjects ranging from anthropology to sociology. Recent years have brought about cooperation formerly unknown, especially between anthropology and psychoanalysis.

While psychoanalysis has, to some extent, been accepted by anthropology, the essence of what it is all about is still an alien way of thinking for the anthropologist. On the other hand modern anthropology has influenced dissident psychoanalysis, i. e., the Horney, Kardiner, and similar groups, to a considerable degree. My stand on these questions is well known and I would like to see a further clarification of these problems from the Freudian point of view in future issues. While this is an exclusively psychoanalytic publication — in the sense that Freud would have called psychoanalytic — I will welcome mainly factual contributions by anthropologists on subjects that are of especial interest to the psychoanalyst (childhood, sexuality, dreams, personality, neurosis or psychosis among primitives) even if the author's point of view is not completely psychoanalytic.

I find it necessary to explain the sub-sections. Psychoanalysis has so far been successful chiefly in interpreting the data collected by the following social sciences: I. Anthropology, II. Folklore, III. Mythology, IV. Religion, V. Art, VI. Literature, VII. History, VIII. Sociology.

This sequence presents an ascending scale from the simpler to the more integrated phenomena. By *folklore* we mean the study

of the culture of European or American village communities or their "lore" such as superstitions, customs, folk-tales, ballads and the like. It is also necessary to say a few words on *mythology*.

Myth, according to our definition, is a narrative, not a belief. Therefore I would classify a paper on Apollo as religion, not mythology. Moreover myths are narratives of a specific kind, i. e., they are believed to be true and this distinguishes them from the folk-tale, i.e., from primitive literature. The section on *religion* has its obvious boundaries in so far as "higher" religions are dealt with; but a treatise on North American Indian guardian spirits could be classified either as religion or as anthropology. *Sociology* is the same for New York or London that anthropology is for a foodgathering tribe. It may also be regarded as equivalent to the social sciences in general and include any attempts to explain the behavior or emotion of human beings in groups. Finally we may include papers on general (non-medical) psychology (e. g. subjects like the superego or symbolism) as these are closely interrelated with all the social sciences. I intend to introduce each volume, (if possible), with a short essay on psychoanalysis as related to one of the fields in which it has been used as a method of interpretation. The present volume discusses *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*.

The Editor.

September 1, 1947.

New York.

Introduction

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

By GÉZA RÓHEIM, Ph.D. (New York)

Before Freud we knew very little about psychology. By analyzing neurotics, Freud first found that they were saying one thing and meaning something quite different and then evolved a technique which made it possible to find what this "different" meaning was.

One of Freud's most outstanding discoveries about human beings was the oedipus complex, i.e., the fact that at a certain age the boy loved his mother and regarded his father as a hated rival. It seemed self-evident that if this constellation^{*} was found in patients it would also explain the myth of King Oedipus¹ and that having once understood man in his role of a patient we could also attempt to explain human behavior, beliefs, myths and customs which in their irrational aspects show much that is manifestly similar to the ways of the neurotics.

Karl Abraham, in his first psychoanalytic discussion of myth², starts from this undeniable analogy. If Oedipus and Jokaste are not, as mythologists would assume, the sun and the earth or the like, but representatives of human trends or desires, then this

1. S. Freud: *Traumdeutung*. Gesammelte Schriften, II, p. 263. (Original edition, 1900, p. 180)

2. Karl Abraham: *Traum und Mythos*. F. Deuticke (Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde) Vienna, 1909 *Dream and Myths*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 15, Washington, D. C., 1913.

method may be successfully applied to mythology in general. Actually, Abraham did not have to go far beyond what Kuhn had already said before Freud to recognize the sexual symbolism in the myth of Prometheus. The difference, of course, was that the mythologist could only point out that this sexual symbolism existed, but could not give us any information on the why and wherefore³. Previously, Riklin⁴ had published a study on wish-fulfilment and symbolism in folktales. To this, an English psychologist naively objected that as a child when he heard the stories, he had no idea that the snake was a penis.⁵ Nowadays, I believe, few would dispute the validity of Riklin's interpretations. But these were only the forerunners. The door was thrown wide open for a psychoanalytic interpretation of anthropology, human history, religion and sociology by Freud.

Totem and Taboo is really a building based on several cornerstones: (a) Sacred and accursed are both *taboo*, we desire what we pretend to abhor. (b) The phobic attitude of primitive people regarding incest is a protection against the gratification of this desire. (c) The survivors through mourning punish themselves for their evil wishes directed against the dead, (even the enemy's ghost must be placated), and kings are first exalted to the rank of divinities and then killed. (d) In anthropology or sociology as well as in the consulting room it is well to bear in mind that all human relationships are *ambivalent*.

In compulsive neurotics we find that no hard and fast line is drawn between thinking and acting. An obsessional patient of Freud's had the idea that whenever he thought of a person that person would suddenly appear and if he inquired about the state

3 Ad. Kuhn: *Mythologische Studien*. I. Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks. C. Bertelsmann, Gutersloh, 1886.

4. F. Riklin: *Wunscherfüllung und Symbolik im Märchen*, F. Deuticke, (Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde, 2) Vienna, 1908. *Wishfulfilment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*. Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 21, Washington, D. C., 1915.

5. F. C. Bartlett: *Psychology in Relation to the Popular Story, Folk Lore*, 1920, pp. 264-293.

of health of an acquaintance he was sure to hear that the person had just died. For this state of things the patient coined the word "omnipotence of thought". Thence Freud realized the analogy with primitive magic where a wish, an incantation, or the acting out of a certain situation, for instance, is supposed to bring about the desired result.

Chapter IV of *Totem and Taboo* contains Freud's theory of totemism and the primal horde. Certain primitive tribes are organized in clans. These clans practice *exogamy*, i.e., they do not marry any woman who is a member of their own clan. Moreover they regard themselves as in some way related to or descended from the members of an animal species, (i.e., kangaroos, bears, or the like) and usually abstain from killing and eating these animals. Periodically, however, these very animals whom primitives also believe to be their fathers, are killed and eaten ceremonially.⁶

Considering that we have studied animal phobias of children psychoanalytically, and found that the animal (horse, or cock, or dog) symbolizes the father, we only have to accept literally the statements made by primitives and we have the key to the riddle of totemism. The totem animal is a symbol of the father. The male members of the clan are his sons, the females whom they must not marry are his wives. Totemism, therefore, is based on the oedipus complex. Robertson-Smith explained sacrifice by analogy with Christian communion: for instance, a bull is sacrificed to a bull-god and by eating the flesh of the bull the worshippers are united. The members of the totem clan eat the totem father. Freud then suggests that all this is really a repetition of a prehistoric experience. In the primal horde (Atkinson) the ancestors of mankind lived in groups from which the young males were excluded. The group was really one powerful male with his harem and the father prevented the sons from obtaining sexual

6. Cf. Brill's comment on the American totem bird, the turkey (similar to the bald eagle) eaten ceremonially on Thanksgiving day. A. A. Brill: *Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry*. New York, W. W. Norton & Co., 1944, p. 187.

satisfaction. When by united efforts they managed to kill him they ate and introjected him and what was his will before became their own will or partly their own will, the basis of law and order, i.e., the superego.

It is well known that it is this last part of the Freudian theory that has been rejected by the anthropologists, and sociologists, and has given rise to violent controversy. The difficulty lies in envisaging a kind of unconscious of the human species in which engrams of the past can be carried over to the present.⁷ Alternative theories have been suggested, namely that the situation itself survives in modified forms and gives rise to "primal horde" myths or rituals.

But whatever conclusion we may arrive at regarding this particular aspect of "applied" psychoanalysis, the fact remains that *Totem and Taboo* is the book that created psychoanalytic anthropology. In it the central position of the oedipus complex for understanding human society has been definitely established, not to mention such "minor" items as the roles of ambivalence, magic, projection and the origin of ghosts.

Another very important and now well-nigh forgotten publication of the early days was Otto Rank's book on the incest-theme in poetry and myth.⁸ It contains, among others, an analysis of some aspects of the oedipus myth (pp. 256-276) and the Cain

7. Cf. for the theory that attenuated forms of the primal horde battles survived as ritual and that this again was nourished by the oedipal and sibling situation of the individual: Géza Róheim: *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. London, Hogarth Press, 1934, p. 234. For actual survival of primal-horde-like situations in the present, Idem, The Primal Horde and Incest in Central Australia. *J. Crim. Psychopath.* 3, 1942, pp. 454-460. For both points of view see Feldman's paper in *this volume* (Notes on the Primal Horde), p. 171. Biologists in general do not admit the possibility of the inheritance of acquired characteristics. Cf. R. E. Money Kyrle; *Aspasia*. London, Kegan Paul, 1932, p. 33. J. Huxley: *Evolution, the Modern Synthesis*. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1942, p. 457. For arguments in favor of phylogenetic inheritance, cf. A. A. Brill: Some Peculiar Manifestations of Memory with Special Reference to Lightning Calculators. *J. Nerv. Ment. Dis.* 92, 1940, pp. 709-726. Idem, The University of Symbols. *Psa. Review*. Vol. 30, 1943, pp. 1-18. On the same subject from a different point of view cf. G. Róheim: Myth and Folk-tale. *Amer. Imago* 2, pp. 266-279.

8. Otto Rank: *Das Inzest Motiv in Dichtung and Sage*. F. Deuticke, Leipzig and Vienna, 1912.

myth (p. 451). Rank had also made other attempts to apply what we had learned by studying neurotics and dreams to the understanding of myths and folk-tales. These essays are still well worth reading, especially the paper on "Myth and Folk-Tale."⁹

Theodor Reik, another pupil of Freud's, published a volume of four papers on ritual. Two of these are devoted to primitives and two to Jewish religion. Reik's study of puberty rites is especially stimulating.¹⁰ From the point of view of present-day knowledge, we must say that the emphasis in these studies is sometimes too much on the historical side, as if there was nothing else to find in psychoanalytic anthropology beyond the primal horde.

An early attempt had been made by Rank and Sachs to summarize the results of psychoanalysis as applied to the "humaniora" or "humanities". The authors write: "The stimulus that might be given to anthropology by psychoanalysis is mainly something to be expected in the future. Up to the present, the fact that many collective phenomena have been shown as closely related to the unconscious has been chiefly exploited to confirm the findings of psychoanalysis. In the customs of various people we can find the exact replica of the symbolism we have ascertained in interpreting dreams."¹¹ The authors visualize this future task mainly from the point of view of a reconstruction of pre-historic phases of human history (Haeckel's law of biogenetic parallelism).¹²

Anthropologists were quick to reject and slow to accept the viewpoints of this new psychology. As far as I know the present writer was¹³ the only anthropologist who accepted psychoanalysis

9. Otto Rank: *Psychoanalytische Beiträge zur Mythenforschung*. Int. Psa. Bibliothek. No. 4, Leipzig and Vienna, 1919. pp. 381-420.

10. Theodor Reik: *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*. Int. Psa. Bibliothek. No. 5, Leipzig and Vienna, 1919. (*Psychological Problems of Religion. I. The Ritual*, New York, Farrar, Straus & Co., 1946.)

11. Otto Rank and Hanns Sachs: *Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse für die Geisteswissenschaften, Grenzfragen des Nerven-und Seelenlebens*; Heft 93. Wiesbaden, T. F. Bergmann, 1913, p. 70.

12. Ibid. p. 71.

13. And perhaps still is? (With the exception of the Dutch anthropologist Dr. Münsterberger.)

without any reservations. The first papers on the subject were published in Hungarian in the *Ethnographia*.¹⁴

In 1914 the writer interpreted certain Finno-Ugrian beliefs about the bear and the twins on the basis of the oedipus complex. It is rather interesting that in a series of papers on "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology"¹⁵ published at this early period, I now find the first indications of what later became the *ontogenetic theory of culture*. Various peoples sacrifice the "first fruits" to the gods. This is interpreted as meaning that the mother tastes the food (or pre-masticates it?) before she gives it to the child.

The German anthropological periodical, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, also contains one paper with a Freudian point of view. The Mexican parallel to the Garden of Eden myth is interpreted on the basis of the primal horde and the sexual symbolism of the myth of the culture hero of the Prometheus-Loki type is clearly recognized.¹⁶

Nothing similar followed in Germany; but in England leading anthropologists were beginning to take an interest in the viewpoints of psychoanalysis. Their influence was decisive in shaping the future course of these studies. W. H. Rivers in a pamphlet on *Dreams and Primitive Culture*¹⁷ regards certain processes of primitive culture as analogous to the secondary elaboration, condensation and dramatization as observed by Freud in analyzing dreams. What he accepts of Freudian theory is very little and what he rejects is much more and the cultural parallels are open to criticism. Yet by this publication psychoanalysis had been removed from the sphere of "untouchable" subjects and methods. In 1924, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* con-

14. For references cf. G. Róheim: *Ethnologie und Völkerpsychologie*. Berichte über die Fortschritte der Psychoanalyse 1914-1919. Int. Psa. Verlag, 1919, pp. 164-194.

15. Psychoanalysis és ethnologia. *Ethnographia*. 1918.

16. John Löwenthal: Zur Mythologie des jungen Helden und des Feuerbringers. *Ztschr. f. Ethnol.* 1918, p. 42.

17. W. H. R. Rivers *Dreams and Primitive Culture*. Longmans, Greene and Co., Manchester, 1917, 1918 (Reprinted from the Bulletin of the John Rhyland Library, 1918).

tained a Presidential Address by C. G. Seligman on "Anthropology and Psychology" and a paper by Ernest Jones on "Psychoanalysis and Anthropology" dealing mainly with symbolism and repression.

In view of recent developments one sentence (Seligman) should be quoted: "The final answer to the question raised above, however, lies in the nature of the findings themselves. These are of such fundamental character, that, roughly speaking, *they can only be true of mankind in general or else not true at all.*"¹⁸

We have thus far followed the development of psychoanalytic anthropology. Partly owing to post-war developments¹⁹ in Central Europe, sociology turned toward psychoanalysis. Kolnai,²⁰ like any well behaved sociologist, regards the statement that sociological phenomena are *sui generis* (and therefore not psychologically conditioned) as axiomatic (p. 5). Being evidently a disciple of Durkheim, he goes on to assert that Freud's discoveries corroborate Durkheim's views. The whole building collapses very neatly when he (correctly) derives the idea of society from fatherhood (p. 35). But in many other respects he is really a forerunner of modern culturalism. For instance, he regards repression as a phenomenon that depends entirely on sociological conditions, i.e., economics, clan, status, and so forth (p. 75).

In 1925, the present writer's book on *Australian Totemism* was published²¹ and with it the first attempt to use psychoanalysis not in a generalized way but as applied to a definite area of culture. There is much too much of Rivers in this book to suit my present views; also too much historical speculation. But the actual interpretation of myths and rituals has been strikingly confirmed by my own field work and shows clearly what can and what cannot be done by the "armchair" anthropologist.

We have now brought our historical survey to the gates of

18. p. 51. My italics.

19. World War I.

20. Aurel Kolnai: *Psychoanalyse und Soziologie*. Int. Psa. Bibliothek, Nr. 9. 1920.

21. London, Allen and Unwin.

the present as represented by the field-work of Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski was doing field-work on the Trobriand Islands and had never heard of psychoanalysis before. It goes without saying that he had not been analyzed. On the basis of literature sent him by Seligman he proceeded to *test* Freud's theory of dreams.²² (I do not think it is necessary to explain why this is an absurdity.) He observed that his informants did not have many dreams and thought this was so because "the complex" is "weak" in a "non-repressed" society. Quite apart from the theoretical confusion in all this, he overlooked one possible reason, namely, that they did not care to tell him their dreams.

Despite these basic misunderstandings his work resulted in the surprising finding that the Trobrianders have a nuclear complex different from peoples in patrilineal cultures. People in a matrilineal culture want to kill their mother's brother and to marry their sister, whereas in a patrilineal culture it is as Freud has found; the mother is the desired object and the father the enemy rival.²³ If Malinowski himself had had any understanding of psychoanalysis²⁴ he would have refuted his own view with his own words. For he tells us: "So far *tama* does not differ essentially from 'father' in our sense. But as soon as the child begins to grow up and take an interest in things outside the affairs of the household and his own immediate needs, certain complications arise and change the meaning of *tama* for him. He learns that he is not of the same clan as his *tama*, that his totemic appellation is different and that it is identical with that of his mother. . . . Another man appears on the horizon and is called by the child *kadaju* (my mother's brother) . . . He also sees as he grows up

22. Bronislaw Malinowski: *The Sexual Life of Savages in North Western Melanesia*. London, Routledge and Sons, 1929. p. 325.

23. Bronislaw Malinowski: Mutterrechtliche Familie und Oedipus-Komplex. *Imago*, 10, p. 273. (Complex and Myth in Mother Right. *Psyche*, 5, p. 194.)

24. He confesses this lack himself: "I have come to realize since the above was written that no orthodox or semi-orthodox psychoanalyst would accept my statement of the "complex" or of any aspect of the doctrine." Bronislaw Malinowski: *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London, Kegan Paul, 1927. p. 75. Furthermore he writes (in 1927) that he is not able to adopt any of the recent developments of psychoanalysis or even to understand their meaning. (p. 22.)

that the mother's brother assumes a gradually increasing authority over him, requiring his services, helping him in some things, granting or withholding his permission to carry out certain actions; while the father's authority and counsel become less and less important".²⁵ In other words, the role of the father in the first five to eight years of life is the same as in any patrilineal society.

I myself have reported a case of Kabisha of Omarakana (Trobriand) who had intercourse with his mother and who, when his little brother surprised him in the act, tried to bury the child alive; but the child climbed out and shouted and people came to the rescue.²⁶

I also happen to have studied the matrilineal society of Normanby Island which is closely related ethnologically to the Trobriand area and even more strictly matrilineal. I have published analyzed dreams of this area which clearly prove the existence of the oedipus complex.²⁷ I have also published data on play analysis with children.²⁸ This ought to convince any *bona fide* critic. Nobody has refuted all this, but authors calmly go on quoting Malinowski's "results". Here we have the "solid cornerstone" of what was destined to develop into the "culturalist" point of view. But, although this means a deviation from the main line of the argument, it would be exceedingly unfair to leave matters at that and create a false impression of Malinowski's significance. He is not to blame for these mistakes, but the psychoanalysts who take him at face value are very much to blame. Malinowski has given us field monographs of unsurpassed value and has introduced the functionalist point of view, i.e., the emphasis on the present as distinguished from the past and on the

25. Bronislaw Malinowski: *The Sexual Life of Savages*, London, George Routledge and Sons, 1929, pp. 5-6

26. Géza Róheim: Society and the Individual, *Psa. Quart.* 9, p. 543

27. Géza Róheim: The Psychoanalysis of Primitive Cultural Types, Doketa. *Int. J. Psa.* 13, p. 151. Idem, *War Crime and the Covenant*. Dream of Bulema, *J. Crim. Psychopath. Monograph Series* No 1, 1945, p. 73. Dream Analysis and Field Work in Anthropology, *this volume*, p. 87.

28. Play Analysis with Normanby Island Children *Amer. J. Orthopsych.*, 11, No. 3, 1941, p. 524

interrelatedness of the parts in a culture. He was the first field anthropologist who really described sex life and in general gave us pioneer field-work of such intensity as was not even attempted before his days.

The next step in the evolution of the relationship between anthropology and psychoanalysis was my own field-work.²⁹ The outlines of what has now become the theory of *basic personality* (Kardiner, Linton, et al) dawned upon me in the process of field-work. I had analyzed dreams in which the *alknarintja* (woman who turns her eyes away) was revealed as the mother; I had drawings of children's dreams which showed that they dreamt of phallic female demons. I knew that in "official" dream interpretation the "alknarintja" was supposed to have intercourse with a man in his dream by sitting on his penis, and finally I was told by a Ngatatara woman that women customarily would lie on their children as a sleeping habit, "like a man on a woman in coitus". This was the nucleus of the ontogenetic theory of culture. The general, although merely foreconscious, conceptual background was derived from Bastian. According to this veteran and chaotic German anthropologist, mankind always produced the same ideas by a kind of *generatio aequivoca*. This was what he called *Elementargedanke*. The *Elementargedanke*, however, varies with different emphasis in different cultural areas. "In every organism, the governing laws have been firmly established; they have also been firmly established in the ethnic frames of reference (*Weltanschauungen*) within which we see emerging everywhere, on the five continents, the same universal ideas (*Menschheitsgedanken*). If circumstances are alike, they emerge from inescapable necessity, in identical form or, inasmuch as they vary under the impact of local modifications, they will emerge in similar form."³⁰

According to Bastian, the first task of anthropology is to find

29. Géza Róheim: *Psychoanalysis of Primitive Cultural Types*. *Int. J. Psa.*, 13, 1932.

30. Adolf Bastian, *Die Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie*. Dummlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, Berlin, 1887, p. 89.

the elementary laws of the growth-process of mankind in general, the second to study the modifications caused by the *milieu* or *monde ambiant*, and the third to study modifications caused by history, i.e., by contact with other cultures.³¹

Translating these views into psychoanalytic terminology, this would mean that we can explain any specific ritual or custom on the basis of trends that are universally human and of such specific ones that occur in a given area.³² Thus the *alknarintja* complex of Central Australia is a sub-variant of the universally human fate of transition from passivity to activity as the cardinal process of growth, but can also be described in terms of what happens in that specific area, i.e., mothers sleeping on their children; and as a reaction to this passivity we find in the males of the tribe an overemphasis on male sadism, phallic symbolism, and male solidarity.

Nor was I unaware, as one of my recent critics supposes, of the fact that cultures as a whole had a certain orientation of their own.³³ "Specific forms of culture must, of course, develop after the period in which the superego has evolved for it is only with the superego that human beings, properly so called, begin. We may say, then, that every culture takes its specific color from a compromise arrived at between the superego, as a more or less constant unit, on the one side, and the governing trauma on the other. This compromise is embodied in a group ideal. The strongest impression which the Australian native retains from his childhood is his love for the "phallic" mother. Accordingly, a society develops whose group ideal is a father endowed with a vagina (i.e., the chief with the subincised penis; penis *churunga* covered with concentric circles symbolizing the vagina). The group ideal of Papuan society is the mother's brother (i.e. mother

31. Ad. Bastian: *Der Mensch in der Geschichte*. Leipzig, Otto Wiegandt, 1860, Vols. 1-3.

32. For the purpose of this analogy, Bastian's second and third task must be regarded as identical.

33. Bastian called this *Volkergedanke*.

plus father) who is portioned out and eaten up at the feast; behind this figure, however, lurks the devouring father. Amongst the Yuma, the child is allowed to witness his parents' coitus. As a result of a systematic building up of the superego this memory is powerfully repressed and in group ideal there appears the shaman who dares to dream of the primal scene and to reproduce this dream in real life".³⁴

I would include another note in retrospect on my field-work and the theory evolved. In those days the concept of trauma was being re-introduced into psychoanalytic thinking by S. Ferenczi. Ferenczi had found many cases in which the "normal" evolution of the child had been shunted off into a different direction owing to adult libidinal traumatization.³⁵

In 1927 and 1928, before I left Budapest these views were already known and discussed in the Budapest psychoanalytic society. Undoubtedly, they had something to do with the fact that, in my field-work, I found the ontogenetic trauma, and also with the mistake I made, namely, I emphasized only libidinal (seduction) traumata. This has already been corrected in some of my papers and will again be corrected in forthcoming publications.³⁶

In the meanwhile anthropology in America was moving in the same direction; that is, somewhat in the same direction. Sapir was emphasizing the necessity of cooperation between anthropology and psychiatry, but he was far from accepting psychoanalysis.³⁷

In 1935, Ruth Benedict published her now famous book on

34. Géza Róheim: Psychoanalysis of Primitive Cultural Types. *Int. J. Psa* 13, 1932, p. 197.

35. Sandor Ferenczi: Relaxationsprinzip und Neokatharsis. *Int. Ztschr. Psa.* 16, 1930, p. 160. Idem, Kinderanalysen mit Erwachsenen. *Int. Ztschr. Psa.* 17, 1931, p. 161. Idem, Sprachverwirrung zwischen dem Erwachsenen und dem Kind. *Int. Ztschr. Psa.* 19, 1933, p. 5.

36. Cf. Play with Normanby Island Children. *Amer. J. Orthopsych.*, 11, p. 524. Children's Games and Rhymes in Duau. *Amer. Anthropol.*, 45, 1943, pp. 99-119.

37. E. Sapir: The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Cultures. *J. Soc. Psychol.* 5, 1934, pp. 408-415.

Patterns of Culture.³⁸ This book is based mainly on Gestalt psychology and Spengler but has little to do with psychoanalysis. That certain cultures are oriented toward different goals than others, that certain biologically given possibilities (for instance, puberty) may be overstressed in some cases and minimized in others, is justly emphasized by Benedict. But we also have the curious, partly myopic and partly mystic trend of the anthropologist and sociologist to make a deep bow of obeisance to the God called society. As this question is relevant for further issues, I want to quote a characteristic passage:

"In all studies of social custom the crux of the matter is that the behavior under consideration must pass through the needle's eye of social acceptance and only history in its widest sense can give an account of these social acceptances and rejections. It is not merely psychology that is the question; it is also history, and history is by no means a set of facts that can be discovered by introspection. Therefore those explanations of custom which derive our economic scheme from human competitiveness, modern war from human combativeness and all the rest of the ready explanations that we meet in every magazine and modern volume have for the anthropologist a hollow ring." Benedict thinks that instead of trying to understand the blood-feud from vengeance, it was necessary rather to understand vengeance from the blood-feud. In the same way it is necessary to study jealousy from its conditioning by local sexual regulations and property institutions.³⁹

It is here that we definitely part company. Maybe I am an archaic survival of the nineteenth century, but I regard these views as gravely misleading and one-sided. To say that we could have war without combativeness or economic competition without competitiveness, and so forth, just seems to me not to make any sense. When I analyze a patient, I find he is vengeful for certain reasons conditioned by his childhood. I refuse to attribute his vengefulness

38. Ruth Benedict: *Patterns of Culture*. London, George Routledge, 1935.

39. *Op. cit.* p. 232.

to the institution of the blood-feud which itself remains unexplained. As an analyst I ought to know something about jealousy and I can assure the anthropologists that the driving forces are not local sexual regulations or property institutions.

In the days of Herbert Spencer and after, it was generally understood that sociology had to be based on psychology; the more integrated had to be derived from the simpler phenomenon and not the other way round. In 1909, this still seemed to be self-evident.⁴⁰ I am fully aware that an individual does not exist in the void, that, in a sense, the individual is as much an abstraction as society is. Therefore if we say that the psychology of the individual is, up to a certain degree, conditioned by society it is also true that society is conditioned by the psychological apparatus plus environment plus history. Lest we forget, however, it is well to observe that history is a series of facts which we interpret and in our interpretation, consciously or unconsciously, psychology plays a decisive role.

Two authors of great importance should now be discussed: one is an anthropologist who has learned much from psychoanalysis, the other is a psychoanalyst who has decisively influenced anthropology.

Margaret Mead's name is well known beyond the frontiers of the profession. Her first three major publications show her interest in the inter-relatedness of culture and the infantile situation.⁴¹ Only in her last book, written with Bateson, do we find that psychoanalysis forms the backbone of the whole structure.

In *Balinese Character* we find the description of the childhood situation with the mother behaving as a witch and the subsequent witch drama as derived from this situation. The book

40. Cf. Michael M. Davis *Psychological Interpretations of Society, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. Vol. 33, No. 2, Columbia University, 1909.

41. Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York, William Morrow, 1928. *Growing Up in New Guinea*, New York, William Morrow, 1930. *Sex and Temperament in three Primitive Societies* New York, William Morrow, 1945.

is a masterpiece of field-work and also of psychoanalysis.⁴² In pointing out certain aspects of the material, about which a psychoanalyst might have something more to say, I am doing this with a specific purpose in mind, and definitely not in an attempt to criticize the authors. If anywhere we have here both a peculiar childhood trauma—the curious taunting, flirting, sexually stimulating and then suddenly rejecting behavior of the mother—and a peculiarly introverted type of personality.

Margaret Mead gives us the following very significant description of the courtship dance: "Little skilled girls especially decked out and trained are taken from village to village by an accompanying orchestra and dance in the street; sometimes with partners who have come with them but more excitingly with members of the crowd. The little *djoget* coquettes and flirts, follows faithfully in pattern and rhythm the leads given by the villager who dances with her, but always fends him off with her fan, always eludes him, approaches, retreats, denies in a fitful unrewarding sequence, tantalizing and remote. Sometimes in the very midst of such a scene the tune played by the orchestra changes to the music of Tjalonarang (the Witch play), a cloth or a doll appears as if by magic, and the little dancer, *still looking her part as the cynosure of all male eyes*,⁴³ suddenly becomes the Witch. She strikes the characteristic attitudes, waves her cloth and dances, balanced on one foot, tentatively threatening to step on the baby doll which she has just flung upon the ground—a pantomimic statement that witches feed on newborn babies. And after the Witch scene, the *djoget* will again return to the role of the desirable and remotely lovely girl. The dance sums up the besetting fear, the final knowledge of each Balinese male that he will, after all, no matter how hard he seeks to find the lovely and unknown beyond the confines of his familiar village, marry the Witch,

42. Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead: *Balinese Character* Special Publication of the New York Academy of Sciences. Vol. 2, 1942.

43. My italics.

marry a woman whose attitude toward human relations will be exactly that of his own mother."⁴⁴

The psychoanalyst will here say that all this shows good insight and must be correct. But he will also go one step further and, using his deeper insight gained from a more intensive study of the individual, he will remember that even men who have very bad mothers and protest that they would hate to have a wife like their mother, are unconsciously looking for just those qualities in their wives that they condemn in their mothers.

What follows in Bateson's and Mead's presentation is very interesting: "There is a conflict which recurs in each generation in which parents try to force the children of brothers to marry each other; to stay within the family line and to worship the same ancestral gods while the young people themselves rebel and if possible marry strangers. Fathers and brothers may help a boy to carry off a girl who is not kin but no male relative of a girl nor the girl herself can admit complicity in any such scheme. An abduction-elopement is staged, but the boy fears that he will not succeed and this is dramatized in the theater in a frequent plot; that of the prince who attempts to abduct a beautiful girl but through accident gets instead the ugly sister; the "Beast" princess who is always dressed in the distinctive costume worn by mothers and mothers-in-law."⁴⁵

Of course, we know that psychoanalysts are such suspicious beings that they will ask "through accident?" and they will say there is no such thing and what the boy gets is just what he desires, i.e., the mother. The theatrical plot may be compared to the dramatized plot of European marriage customs.

Among the Palóc group of Hungarians in northern Hungary when the groom comes to ask for the bride they show him another girl dressed as a ragged old hag and they ask his representative: "Mr. Spokesman, is this the girl you are looking for?"

44. *Op. cit.* p. 36.

45. *Op. cit.* pp. 36-37.

"Who the hell wants her, a toothless old woman,"⁴⁶ he replies. The Székelys in Csik offer a "mask", i.e., an old woman to the bridegroom before he gets the bride.⁴⁷

On the Hungarian plain (Alföld) the pseudo-bride is said to be a widow and she promises to take good care of the young man who marries her "to bathe him in milk and butter"⁴⁸ ("tejbe vajba füröszteti," proverbial expression for loving care). The psychological significance of these customs is obvious,⁴⁹ the young man rejects the old widow, i.e., disclaims his oedipal desires. In some cases the young man is so embarrassed that he says: "Yes, this is the one I want", and this breakthrough of the unconscious is, of course, welcomed as great fun by the spectators.⁵⁰ At Vogelsberg in Hessen they first offer an awful looking old hag. The groom says he does not know this ghost; take the old witch back immediately.⁵¹ In Bavaria they first offer him "the wild woman" (a supernatural being) and only then the real bride.⁵² Among the Germans in Czechoslovakia the rejected old woman is identified with Holle⁵³ the supernatural mother who is followed by the ghosts of unbaptized infants. The old woman declares that she has had an affair with the groom; he has left her with child (a doll).⁵⁴

The two dramas have a different ending; in the theatre at Bali it is regressive (the hero receives the mother). In the marriage rite of European folklore it is progressive (from mother to

46. Istvánffy Mátraalji palócz lakodalom (Palócz marriage customs from the Mátra) *Ethnographia*, 5, p. 45.

47. E László, Csiki Székely népszokások (Folk customs of the Székelys from Csik.) *Ethnographia*, 7, p. 387.

48. Réső Ensel: *Magyarországi Népszokások* (Hungarian Folk Customs) 1867, pp. 39, 40.

49. These data are part of an unpublished paper of the writer's.

50. L. L. Novák, Adatok Bény község néprajzához. (Contributions to the Ethnography of Bény) *Néprajzi-Ertesítő* 1913, p. 44.

51. H. Hepding: Die falsche Braut. *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, 5, p. 162.

52. Georg Buschan: *Sitten der Völker*. Stuttgart, 1922, 4, p. 154.

53. A. John: *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen*. 1905, p. 152. On Holle cf. Waschnitius: *Percht, Holda und verwandte Gestalten*. Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil. Hist. Kl., 194, 1913.

54. John, *op. cit.* pp. 127, 128.

wife). We have here a clear justification of the modern anthropological method of dealing with separate cultural areas; the behavior of mothers in Bali conditions this regressive or negative trend.⁵⁵ But at the same time it is also an argument for old-style comparative anthropology. How could we understand the specific without the general? Black is only black when compared to white.

The behavior of the girl in the courtship situation is similar to that of the mother in the mother-child situation. And now—if any of my readers are modern American anthropologists, I want to prepare them gently—something shocking is going to happen. I am going to commit the original sin of the psychoanalyst⁵⁶ and am actually quoting one of these untouchables—the representatives of the English school of evolutionary anthropology. We know that this coy, enticing, retreating behavior is typical for the male-female relationship for humanity at large (or at least for many cultures) but quite atypical for the mother-child relationship.

Ernest Crawley writes: "We have noticed the impulse in animals and mankind to guard the sexual centres against the undesired advances of the male. This is carried on into desire and female animals are known to run after the male and then turn to flee, perhaps only submitting with much persuasion. Modesty thus becomes an invitation. The naturally defensive attitude of the female is in contrast with the naturally aggressive attitude of the male in sexual relationships." Crawley then quotes from various sources ceremonial bride captures with seemingly resisting brides.⁵⁷

What has happened in Bali therefore is evidently a displacement of a more or less (i.e. potentially) universal male-female

55. Cf. "In some of the old written versions of this plot the Witch is killed but attempts to introduce this form onto the stage have failed." Bateson-Mead, *op. cit.* p. 35.

56. Cf. Clyde Kluckhohn: Psychiatry and Anthropology in: *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*. Columbia University Press, 1944, p. 615.

57. Ernest Crawley: *The Mystic Rose*. London, Methuen and Co., 1927, 2, pp. 81-92. (Quoting H. H. Ellis; *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*. 1910, 1, p. 39.)

relationship to the mother-child situation. The mother behaves as if her son were her lover and this explains the phallic symbolism of the infant, so ably discussed by Bateson and Mead. The process itself is one that has probably a far-reaching significance in the evolution of mankind in connection with our biologically conditioned delayed infancy.

The phallic significance of the child (an equation familiar to psychoanalysts) explains the meaning of gods, dancers and puppets in Bali.

The gods address the people as father and mother and newborn babies are addressed with honorific terms like the gods. In the child trances, adolescent men and women take great pleasure in adoring the little dancer. "The little dancers are put into trance by incense and singing and by holding on to vibrating sticks connected by a string from which are suspended puppets. The god first enters the puppets setting up a violent commotion of the string. The girls then grasp the strings and are entered by the same gods."⁵⁸

In interpreting the meaning of the Witch drama, Bateson and Mead clearly show how the behavior of the bad Witch corresponds to that of the mother and that of the Dragon to the behavior of the father. The real explanation of the situation is given in a paper by Lewin:

"The drama of the Witch and the Dragon seems not fully explained as a revenge on the bad mother by the good father for what she has done to the child. The young men approach the witch with knives and when they turn these against their own breasts, 'play dead' and go into a trance, the Witch and the Dragon keep up the fight. This suggests a primal scene." "A suspicion rises"—Lewin says—"that the child is also present during parental sexual intercourse, and that this occurs while he is in the hypnagogic state that precedes sleep or that in

58. Bateson and Mead, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 30.

some other way sleep and erotic excitement combine. At the theatre we are told the spectators identify themselves with the actors as they did with their mothers 'molding' their bodies accordingly. The usual method of sending children into a trance is to communicate to them through a string the rhythm of a stick which man pounds up and down against a bowl. This trance, like the erotic sleep of the men in the Witch drama, would be an equivalent of infantile masturbation, and repetitive of the erotic sleep during the primal scene."⁵⁹ I have also suggested that the attack upon the Witch—the women do not participate in these attacks—with the phallic kris is a symbolic coitus. At the end the men turn the daggers against a spot on their own breast which is said to itch unbearably, thus acting out both the mother and the father role in the coitus scene. (Itching spot on breast—maternal vulva).⁶⁰ These men are the followers of the mythical dragon, children playing the father rôle in the primal scene.

The reason for discussing these points in this introduction is that here the whole picture is completely changed by a few strokes of interpretation and the primal scene acquires a central role in the life of the Balinese. How could it be otherwise with such a theatre-loving people?⁶¹

There is also another observation to be made. We have here an excellent correlation; the behavior of the Witch is strikingly like that of the Balinese mother. But witches in European folklore show exactly (or nearly exactly) the same characteristics as Balinese witches and those on Normanby Island are again strikingly similar to both. The child certainly has body destruction fantasies (M. Klein) even when mothers are not Balinese mothers and thus the problem of witches becomes again more complicated.

59. Bertram D. Lewin: Balinese Character in: *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*. New York, Int. Univ. Press. 1, 1945, p. 385.

60. Géza Róheim: Review of Bateson and Mead in: *Psy. Quart.*, 13, 1944, p. 252.

61. Cf. for primal scene and ritual drama, Géza Róheim: *The Riddle of the Sphinx*. London, Hogarth Press, 1934. For the final proof of the primal scene basis of the drama cf. my forthcoming book: *The Psychology of Magic*.

But then again all human children have body destruction fantasies and the result may be somewhat different in another culture; not witches (i.e. female sorcerers) in our sense.⁶²

Margaret Mead came from anthropology to psychoanalysis. Abram Kardiner went from psychoanalysis to anthropology. I have criticized his viewpoint before and do not intend to cover the same ground again.⁶³ Kardiner is what is usually called a neo-Freudian. I would not admit that his system is Freudian even in a restricted sense. But, perhaps viewed historically, just what I object to is his great asset. By discarding so much of the original Freudian ideology he has been able to interest many anthropologists in hitherto recondite topics.⁶⁴ The interrelation of parents and children, of society and the individual, sexual life, personality, and many others have become the core of anthropology. So much at a time the anthropologists will take, but while I was trying to offer them Freudian wine undiluted, they would not drink it. Moreover, Kardiner has developed what was little more than a hint in my publications into a systematic theory of *basic personality*. The theory is that each culture produces a personality type of its own; as the parents behave differently toward their children in various areas those children are bound to develop into different types of personalities. Kardiner has also attempted to observe more closely and to check the various stages in the development of individuals in certain areas. Leaving aside the old hen and egg problem (cultural pressure versus infancy situations) we note that the smaller and more primitive a group may be⁶⁵ the greater

62. Cf. Clyde Kluckhohn: Navaho Witchcraft. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Am. Arch. and Ethn.* Harvard University, 22, No. 2, 1944.

63. Géza Róheim: Society and the Individual. *Psa. Quart.*, 9, 1940, pp. 526-545.

64. Abram Kardiner: *The Individual and His Society*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1939.

65. I disagree with Clyde Kluckhohn who thinks we are begging the question when we call the primitives primitive. This is unnecessary over-sophistication. If we dig down into past geological strata we find eoliths, not automobiles. I have not the slightest doubt about the problem whether our anthropoid ancestors had a highly developed literature and then mysteriously lost it or whether it was gradually developed after writing had been invented. Cf. Clyde Kluckhohn, *Psychiatry and Anthropology. Op. cit.*, p. 615, footnote 102.

the probability that the basic personality of the group will also be the basic personality of the individual. Conversely, increase in numbers means increase in variability. Kardiner frankly admits that when compared with individual biographies the basic personality construct is not basic.⁶⁶ In his latest careful study—a book worth reading—the author seems to me to oscillate between an economic and a psychological determinism.⁶⁷ I must say, however, that I have the same objections to the system in its present form as I had to the first book. Kardiner is prone to make generalized statements based upon an insufficient knowledge of anthropological data.

"A strong bit of evidence for this is the absence of the almost universal taboo against sexual relations before battle. This merely indicates that the constellation 'sexual pleasure provokes punishment' is absent".⁶⁸ What basis do we have for such a statement? For instance, we have the Central Australians with masturbation or incestuous coitus as a preliminary to the blood feud; and the constellation mentioned above is certainly not absent in Central Australia. Among the Murngin the chapter on "Warfare" in the careful study made by Lloyd Warner does not mention this taboo (chapter VI.). Yet in the initiation ritual we have a dance in which the dancers have bark penises sticking erect from their belts. Some men without these appendages are female opossums. They may or may not simulate copulation.⁶⁹ This coitus scene is explained by the natives:

"Black man cuts down tree and by and by little ones come up. It is all the same. Walk about single, by and by mate and by and by children. It is all the fault of those women (the mythical Wawilak sisters). If they had not done wrong in their own

66. Cora du Bois: *The People of Alor* with analyses by A. Kardiner and E. Oberholzer. Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1944, p. 548.

67. A. Kardiner: *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 415, 418.

68. A. Kardiner, *op. cit.* p. 91, on the Comanche.

69. W. Lloyd Warner: *A Black Civilization*. New York, Harper Brothers, 1937, p. 296.

country this would not have happened. Everyone, all plants and animals, would have stayed single. But after they had done these bad things . . ."⁷⁰

Sex and punishment are linked here as obviously as in the narrative of Genesis. Yet there is no pre-war coitus taboo. Among the famous Marind-anim Wirz describes an extremely severe morality for the uninitiated. A young man is not even supposed to see a girl's apron.⁷¹ No period of pre-war continence is mentioned.⁷²

These data are taken at random from my bookshelves without much research. Finally we might add another society which does not taboo sexual intercourse before war and yet has sex and punishment linked together: our own. Obviously Kardiner's conclusion is too sweeping. Then again we are told that among the Comanche there is no evidence of supposed hostility to children.⁷³ But on the very next page we are told that the children are threatened with the boggy man. Kardiner is compelled to add a new theoretical angle to his hypotheses. We are told that "the menstrual taboos are survivals, which indicate conceptions of danger associated with the female not supported by an experience of the Comanche themselves and couvade, rudimentary though it is, is evidence that the child must be protected from the father. This surely has no relevancy here . . . The persistence of such institutions in Comanche indicates that not all institutions are functionally meaningful and can not therefore be classified as either primary or secondary but remain adventitious."⁷⁴

In other words, institutions that do not fit in with the theory or refute it are "adventitious". However, notwithstanding my

70. *Op. cit.*, p. 297.

71. P. Wirz: Die Marind-anim von Holländisch Sud-Neu-Guinea. Hamburgische Universität. *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*. Bd. 10, Hamburg, L. Friedrichsen, 1922, p. 69.

72. *Op. cit.* 3, p. 49.

73. Kardiner, *op. cit.* p. 85. However, in Comanche folklore the evil magician is always an old man. *Op. cit.*, p. 78.

74. Kardiner, *op. cit.* p. 98.

criticism on theoretical grounds, Kardiner's book is stimulating and interesting.

Another achievement to Kardiner's credit is the emphasis on myths as a diagnostic tool indicating not the past but what is actually in the unconscious of the people who now narrate those myths. But myths are used without comparative material or real analysis of their latent meaning. This method avoids the depths of the unconscious; therefore a biography becomes an adequate substitute for a real analysis.⁷⁵ If Kardiner wishes to discuss "Western Man" why go to "Plainville" and use biographies; why not his own analytic data and discuss Manhattan?

I have tried to show and could show again that the exponents of the "culturist" school have an unfortunate propensity to make hasty, unsubstantiated negative statements, that they "scotomize" the oedipus complex, the superego, the castration complex and anal eroticism or anal character formation.⁷⁶ There is also a great confusion in terminology, for instance in the use of the word superego.

So much has changed in the thirty years that I have been writing psychoanalytic anthropology that it seems almost incredible. It is true that anthropologists for the most part still use psychoanalytic terms without understanding their meaning, but there is reason to hope that the future will bring full clarification. Nobody can really understand what it is all about without having been analyzed. Few would go with me so far, yet I will go a step further. If we are really to understand psychoanalytic anthropology in the Freudian sense, it will have to be written by those who have not only been analyzed but actually practiced analysis

75. On biographies in anthropology cf. also Clyde Kluckhohn: *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology. Soc. Sc. Res. Council Bull.*, 53, 1945, chapter 1 Betty I. Meggs: *Recent Trends in American Ethnology. Amer. Anthropol.* 1946, p. 185.

76. Linton, however, recognizes that "family situations operate on a sub-cultural level." R. Linton: *The Cultural Background of Personality*. New York, Appleton Century Co., 1945, p. 150. The significance of this "subcultural level" is underestimated, and the importance of "cultural patterning" (*op. cit.* p. 120) is overestimated.

themselves.⁷⁷ Without this practice nobody can acquire real skill in deep interpretation and without constant contact with the unconscious we are likely to repress the results of our own analysis and resistance will gradually get the upper hand. However, in order to understand the data of folk-lore or the data of anthropology or sociology, we cannot base our theories on dream analysis alone,⁷⁸ but if the results of dream-analysis agree with what we find in folk-lore or anthropology as revealed to the trained eye, the interpretation will be really convincing. As for the kind of material we should have, a complete therapeutic analysis of a primitive is by far the best. Only an analyst who lives in the country can do that and so far we have only W. Sachs of South Africa who is in a position to talk with authority on the subject.⁷⁹ The next best to this is what the field anthropologist can do if psychoanalytically trained, i.e. to collect and analyze a series of dreams.⁸⁰ The study of primitive children with play technique⁸¹ is one of our most promising approaches. In the future, as psychoanalysis and anthropology continue to cooperate, progress as yet unforeseen can be expected.⁸²

77. This has nothing to do with lay analysis. If lay analysts are not going to be trained, psychoanalytic anthropology should be in the hands of M.D.'s who are also anthropologists.

78. Cf. for instance N. Fodor: *Lykanthropy as a Psychic Mechanism. J. Amer. Folklore.* 58, 1945, p. 310.

79. W. Sachs: *Black Hamlet*. London, G. Bles, 1937.

80. Cf. below my paper on *Dream Analysis and Field Anthropology, this volume*, p. 87.

81. Cf. Géza Róheim: *Children of the Desert. Int. J. Psch.* 13, pp. 23-37. Idem, *Play Analysis with Normanby Island Children. Amer. J. Orthopsych.* 11, 1941, pp. 524-529. The most exhaustive treatment of the subject by I. and Z. Henny: *Doll Play of Pilaga Indian Children*. Research Monograph No. 4, American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1944.

82. Cf. also the excellent analytic interpretation given by Erik Homburger Erikson, *Observations on the Yurok: Childhood and World Image. University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology.* 25, No. 10, 1943, pp. 257-302. Idem, *Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes. The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child.* I, New York, Int. Univ. Press., 1945, pp. 319-350.

Part One

ANTHROPOLOGY

SOME ASPECTS OF NAVAHO INFANCY AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

By CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Ph D (Cambridge)

This is the first technical report upon a study of a group of Navaho Indian children that has been going on since 1936. A popular, highly tentative account of Navaho childhood in general has been published.¹ Previously only a programmatic statement² and isolated observations and theoretical interpretations were published.³ The present article will deal only with certain salient features of the first few years of life: the daily routine of the baby in the cradle, nursing, weaning, toilet training. Descriptions of the prenatal period and of parturition are reserved for later publication. Many aspects of infancy cannot be treated here; indeed it is contemplated that a whole book will be required to present a digest of the materials on infancy.

In the absence of previous publication to which reference

1. Leighton, D. C. and Kluckhohn, C.: *Children of the People*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1947. Certain paragraphs (rearranged and revised) from one chapter of this book are repeated here. For this and for the benefits of long-sustained collaboration in field work and in discussions of the problems involved in studying Navaho infancy, I must express my deep obligations to Dr. Leighton. Thanks are also due to the Harvard University Press for their permission to utilize the materials mentioned. I am also grateful to Drs. A. and D. Leighton and to Dr. Janine Chappat for a critical reading of the present manuscript. The research basic to this paper has been supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, The Viking Fund, The Social Science Research Council, and The Peabody Museum and Department of Anthropology in Harvard University.

2. Kluckhohn, C.: Theoretical Bases of an Empirical Method for the Study of the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals. *Man*, 39, 1939.

3. Cf. e. g. Mowrer, O. H. and Kluckhohn, C.: Dynamic Theory of Personality in. *Personality and the Behavior Disorders*: New York, Ronald Press, 1944, J. Hunt, editor; Kluckhohn, C. *Navaho Witchcraft Papers of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University*, 22, 1944

could be made, it is necessary to present briefly certain background information. Almost all of the data utilized in this chapter were obtained among the group of about five hundred Navaho Indians living near Ramah, New Mexico. Although these Indians live in close proximity to ranchers and not far from a Mormon and a Spanish-American village, intimate contacts have been minimal because of the linguistic barrier. The first school for this group opened only in 1943 and until this time they had been almost completely let alone by the Indian Service and by missionaries. Hence acculturation, other than in the realm of material objects, has been relatively slight. A sketch of the physical environment and the culture of the Ramah Navaho has been published.⁴ Perhaps 5 per cent of the materials basic to this paper were secured among the Two Wells Navaho, some twenty-five miles distant from the Ramah group. Their culture is similar except that it has been more modified by white influences.

THE CORE SAMPLE

Although observations and interviews relating to forty-one other children have also been utilized for purposes of control and to increase the size of certain statistics, the core of this study is a selected sample of Ramah children that has been followed consistently through the years. The original sample consisted of twenty-four boys and twenty-four girls, though this has been decreased by deaths and by the removal of some families to such distances that continued intensive study was impractical.⁵ The children were born in the years 1936-38, but some replacements were made with children born in 1939 and 1940. In most cases the mother was observed, together with her family, during pregnancy. In all save four cases, the baby was seen within forty-eight

4. Kluckhohn, C. and Leighton, D. C. *The Navaho*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1946.

5. The war brought other obstacles to the completion of the project as planned, but most of the observation of infancy had been completed before the war began.

hours of birth and usually within twelve hours. In eleven cases an observer was on the spot at the time of the birth.

Selection of children was limited by the fact that in a group of this size only a small number were born each year during the periods that the writer or one of his collaborators could be in the field. So far as choice was possible, the attempt was made to have the children represent a cross-section of the community from the points of view of economic position, degree of white influence impinging upon the family, age of parents, and size of family. Actually, the laws of chance plus some conscious selection provided a very satisfactory sample both in terms of its ranges of variation and of its modalities.

THE OBSERVERS

This has been a collaborative project. The notes of eighteen observers (nine men and nine women) have been pooled to make the inductions reported in this article.⁶ Six were professional anthropologists or graduate students in anthropology; three were psychiatrists; one was a psychologist and one an educational psychologist; two were botanists; the remainder had no higher degrees in any field, but some had undergraduate training in anthropology or psychology. The participation of these observers in the study of children varied widely. Only eight gave their full time for longer or shorter periods to working with the children. The remainder were primarily engaged in other projects (human geography, basketry, recreation, reproductive life, and so forth) but made incidental observations while resident with families to which one or more of the children belonged. In some cases the observers were asked to observe designated children with particular care or to ask certain questions about them. In other instances (as a kind of control) the observers were merely asked to record

6. Especial thanks are due the following for their materials: D. C. Leighton, M.D., A. H. Leighton, M.D., Margaret Fries, M.D., Flora Bailey, Helen Bradley, Janine Chappat, Ph.D., Marian Mueller, and Josephine Murray.

as much as possible about all children with whom they came in contact.

Some observers were in the field for a single field-season or less. Others spent six months or more continuously in the field or returned for two or more different seasons. The writer has been in the field every year except 1945, and in three different years was able to spend not only the summer but also six weeks or more at some other period of the year. The children have been observed at least once during every month of the year by one or more different observers, though this has not occurred during every year of the study.

It is obvious that the quality of field notes varies greatly in accord with the observer's training, amount of experience with the Navaho, as well as interest and native capacity. Nevertheless the stress upon concrete observational detail was great enough so that each set of notes has yielded valuable data. For it takes no special skill but only a due regard for accuracy to record that a given child nursed at the left breast for so many minutes or was seen to take steps alone on such and such a day. However, this is not the whole of the matter. Naive observers (i.e., persons with no training in psychology or anthropology and with no instruction in the purposes of the project) were deliberately introduced into the study, and—doubtless because they were good natural observers who saw things freshly and without the distortions probably always produced by theoretical preconceptions—supplied some of the most useful observations obtained.

METHOD OF STUDY

The approach has been that of repeated short-sample observation by multiple observers. Only three families included a person who spoke English and only one observer (the writer) spoke enough Navaho to dispense with an interpreter. Hence the greatest reliance was placed on observation. In essence, we studied these children in their families with the same simple natural his-

torical kind of method that one would use in studying a colony of beavers. The verbal record was liberally supplemented with still and moving pictures. Observations were of course oriented toward acts and periods which psychoanalysis and child psychology suggest are of crucial importance, but the goal was to record everything that occurred in the baby's environment during the period the observer was present. As has been remarked, an attempt was made to control unconscious bias due to theoretical conviction by introducing some observers who were completely without theoretical sophistication.

In addition to observation (and simple experiments, projective techniques, collection of drawings, physical examinations, and tests) there were also interviews with the family and eventually with the children. Dreams of the children and of the parents and siblings have been collected assiduously. Some autobiographies of parents and siblings have been obtained.

Entrée to the families was obtained in a variety of ways. In no case was the family told that it was desired to study a child or children, save when the Rorschach, Grace Arthur performance, Murray Thematic Apperception, and other tests were administered. In this instance it was explained (which was true) that the tests were being given in the endeavor to help the Indian Service improve its methods of teaching Navahos. Otherwise the usual pretext was a desire to learn the Navaho language, though a wish for instruction in weaving and in Navaho cooking were also employed. In the case of newcomers to the region an arrangement was made to pay the family a fee for "board and room". The writer and other observers who have spent much time with the Ramah Navaho have worked out a system whereby informal reciprocities are substituted for direct payment. We ordinarily arrive with gifts in the form of food. The families also know that, within limits, they can count on us to provide them with occasional transportation to Gallup or to the hospital at Black-rock, New Mexico. On the other side, there is an unspoken

understanding that we are welcome to come from time to time and enter the family as guests.

Some observers have preferred to spend each night in the Mormon town of Ramah, staying with the Indian families only during the daylight hours. But most of us have camped with the family, sleeping either outside or in a spare hut or in the hut in which the child was sleeping. Ordinarily each visit was for a period of at least a full twenty-four hours, and unbroken stays of four days to a week were made as a minimum yearly visit to each family in the pre-war years. Although the worker among the Navaho labors under many handicaps as compared with the investigator who has a good laboratory, one-way vision screens, and the like, and who speaks the same language as the children he is studying, this opportunity of entering into the intimate daily life of the family is a great compensation. In a one-room hut not much can be concealed, and when the student remains for some days it is difficult to keep up "company manners". The observer sees the ordinary run of behavior between individuals and feels the emotional tone that colors each pair of relationships.

Although our general aim has been to make ourselves as unobtrusive as possible, the simultaneous recording of events was easy in most families because no one could read or write. The note-taking which went on in public was usually explained to them as being the writing-down of words and phrases of Navaho as they were heard. Picture-taking did not of itself present a problem, for the family were eager for the prints themselves. The persistent difficulty was that posed photographs with individuals dressed in their best clothes were strongly preferred, and sometimes there was resentment over candid camera shots.

Except where otherwise indicated, all statements that follow are based upon first-hand observation or upon corroborated testimony of eyewitnesses obtained very shortly after the event. Uncontrolled hearsay and retrospective interviews dealing with events months or years in the past have been utilized only to

arrive at generalizations about traditions or about folklore. This fact is of great importance, for Navahos are notoriously inaccurate not with regard to sequence of events but as to absolute dates. Mothers have been interviewed as to dates of birth, weaning, walking, and the like, where these dates were definitely known by observation. Accuracy within a month in the mother's report was exceptional, and errors of as much as six months were common. In some instances mothers were questioned as to the same events at intervals of several months to a year or more. The same reply was almost never given, and the spread usually encompassed at least three months, although there is absolutely no reason to believe that there was conscious deception in any case. There is, to be sure, some margin of error in our dates also. That is, Kee was walking by at least September 15, 1941 because he was observed in the act. However, in such cases the family would be questioned as to when this had first occurred and, if the date assigned fitted with other known facts, this would be accepted, for experience has shown that Navahos are approximately correct in dating happenings that occurred within a month or so.

THE FIRST MONTH

Abundant corn pollen is sprinkled on the baby's head as soon as delivery is complete (unless this had been done earlier when the head had partially emerged from the birth canal). The midwife then ties the cord with a piece of homespun wool or a string picked up from the floor and cuts it (formerly, and still sometimes, with a flint knife, but more often with a pair of scissors or a kitchen knife). Sometimes the cord is not cut until the placenta has come. Unless the baby is already crying or breathing well, it is shaken, massaged on the chest, or patted on the back or held by the feet with the head downwards. It is then wrapped tightly in a woolen blanket or in cotton cloths and a sheepskin and placed near the fire. The head is propped with blankets so that it will not get out of shape.

Only after the placenta has been expelled does the woman who received the baby at delivery return to it to bathe it. For this bath the woman receives a basket or some other gift. Usually the midwife is a close relative of the mother but she may be just a neighbor who has experience in these matters. She may be anyone except a practitioner of divination—if a diviner she is supposed to give up divination forever after having been a midwife. Sometimes a second woman assists in giving the first bath.

The bath is given with soap and warm water in an old piece of crockery or a dishpan. There is great fear of the blood connected with birth so that in many families the receptacle is afterwards thrown away. In any case the bath water is carefully disposed of in a hole outside the hut which has been prepared for this purpose. When two women give the bath the vessel is often dispensed with. One woman holds the baby over a pile of sand while the other pours on the water and cleans the child with her hand or with a cloth. The sand is then carefully scraped up and deposited some distance from the hut. If one woman gives the bath, she supports the baby's head with the fingers of her left hand under the neck. The bather sits on the floor with her feet turned back under her and alternates the baby's head and buttocks towards her.

The baby is dried with a towel. A cloth band (sometimes with a little cotton directly over the navel) is wrapped tightly around the abdomen. The whole body to the neck is then swathed firmly in cloths (usually old flour or sugar sacks) which are tied both at the shoulder and hip levels. Thus bundled, the baby is wrapped in a sheepskin (fur side toward the body) and laid at the left of the mother, towards the north, with its head pointing to the fire. Usually, but not invariably, a canopy called "face-cover" is placed over it. This consists of three arches of willow withes or bating wire over which is placed a cloth or a skin to protect the child from the sparks of the fire and from the bright rays of the sun.

Sometimes immediately after the bath but always before sundown of the day of birth, the midwife "shapes" the baby. First the head and other body parts are anointed with pollen from white and yellow corn which has been shaken over corn beetles. The "shaping" ordinarily begins with the nose. The woman's thumb is placed within the baby's mouth and pressed back in the direction of the nose. "Then the nose will be straight. Otherwise the child will have a short nose." After the nose the head and limbs are kneaded and molded "The legs are shaped to make them stiff so the child can walk when it wants to." Often the ears are pierced for earrings within the first twenty-four hours. A needle with a piece of string attached is run through the ear, and then the string is drawn back and forth at intervals until a hole is well established.

The exhausted mother is lying down near the fire on the south side of the hut. She is usually given a tea brewed from juniper branches or from plant leaves. Her first food should be cornmeal mush unseasoned, and indeed in strict theory she should eat nothing but this for four days. We observed nineteen cases in which the mush was first food but no cases in which this was the sole diet for more than a day. Nowadays the mother gets a hearty meal as soon as she wants it. In most cases she does not drink anything but coffee or tepid to warm water until her milk has begun to come freely.

For fifteen mothers who were having their first child the average number of days before they were moving around freely and engaging in more or less normal activity was six and a half and the range was five to nine. For twenty mothers who had one to four children the average was five and a quarter and the range three to seven. For twenty-nine mothers who had had more than four children the average was slightly more than four and the range one to seven. (All cases where conditions were clearly pathological have been eliminated from these tabulations; there

were twenty-two such instances out of a total of eighty-six where the facts were well documented.)

Except when the mother is seriously ill, a relationship of almost constant physical proximity between child and mother begins after the child's first bath and is unbroken until the child can walk. Night and day, wherever the mother goes, whatever she is doing, the baby is either being held by her or is within sight of her eye and almost always within reach of her hand. As soon as she is physically able, the mother herself responds to every manifestation of want or discomfort on the part of her child. Her usual first response whenever the child cries is to place it to her breast. If this fails to produce quiet the baby will be cleaned and dried, cuddled, talked to or sung to. The baby is totally helpless; it can only cry. Wriggling is hardly an outlet for the Navaho baby since it is wrapped so tightly.

The baby's routines are simple and infinitely repeated. He is bathed in warm water every day, or sometimes every other day, depending in part on weather conditions. The cloths⁷ that serve as diapers are changed when the baby is bathed and usually one or more other times during the day. Frequency of changing varies greatly depending upon the relative restlessness of the baby and upon family habits. Navaho mothers ordinarily remove only the one cloth that is really soaked and fold the others in such a way that the child's skin comes into contact with dry materials only. In cold weather the diapers are warmed at the fire first. A cloth that has been soiled will merely be scraped free of fecal matter and then replaced in the cradle. Under such conditions it is not surprising that skin irritations are frequent. A reason frequently given for denying the baby freedom of hands and arms is to prevent it from scratching itself. (Another reason given is warmth.) Sometimes mittens are put on the baby's hands to

7. Before cloths were available mothers used cliff-rose bark which was rubbed together to make a kind of straw. This is still used to some extent to line a sheepskin or a cradle. It absorbs liquids well. After drying in the sun it appears to be practically odorless and is used again and again.

control scratching during the periods the baby is unwrapped. The baby's face may also be largely covered to prevent scratching.

The length of daily periods of being unwrapped during the first month average about two hours, but the range of variation is considerable. In no case did the infant have less than an hour (usually before and/or after the bath) to kick and squirm freely, but where members of the family had a good deal of free time or where the baby was ill or uneasy, this figure mounted to four or even five hours a day, usually in stretches of an hour to an hour and a half at a time.

In every case the baby gets a good deal of affectionate attention. He is, of course, fed and held by the mother. He is also held, touched, and talked to by the grandmother, aunts, father, older brothers and sisters, and indeed by all relatives who come and go in the hogan. The relative joggles the infant and smiles down at him or picks him up and sings a little or makes affectionate noises. All Navahos make a great fuss over babies who thus receive from the start a very great amount of attention and a great deal of facial stimulation by touch. Their faces are patted and their ears are plucked. Their limbs are also stroked when they are out of the cradle, but this occurs far less often.

According to the Navaho ideal, a child is nursed immediately it begins to cry. During the first month of life ideal and practice nearly coincide. Only occasionally is there any delay, as when the mother rouses slowly from sleep during the night or is outside the hogan for a few minutes or is busy with some task which cannot be put aside the instant the baby cries. The infant himself determines not merely when he wishes to suck but also when he is finished. The mother will not terminate nursing until he has ceased to show interest in the nipples. The willingness of a mother to feed her infant on his terms is doubtless increased by the fact that she is never more than a few feet from her child in and around her one-room shelter. She sits on the floor (there being no chairs), and the infant is easily pulled near her. Since the

mother wears only a loose blouse and no underwear the derangement of her clothes is negligible.

The old Navaho custom was to purge the baby before its first feeding by giving it a brew of the inner bark of juniper and pinyon which produced vomiting. We observed only three cases where this practice was followed. However, the associated custom of administering pollen suspended in water before allowing the baby to take milk was noted in fifty-six cases out of eighty. Navaho folklore says that pollen and water should be the baby's only nourishment for four days, but we saw no case where this was followed to the letter. In the great majority of instances the mother nursed the child within forty-eight hours. Often heated goat's milk or sheep's milk or canned milk and water were given in a bottle before the child received mother's milk. This was sometimes because the mother's milk was slow in coming freely, sometimes because Navahos generally distrust the colostrum which they pump out by hand.

Disregarding cases where the child was clearly ill or where the mother's milk supply was plainly deficient,⁸ the average number of times babies under one month nursed during the day was eight and a half (range: five to sixteen; mode: ten) and during the night two plus (range: one to six; mode: two). Average duration was seven and three-quarters minutes (range: two minutes to twenty-three). Breasts were regularly alternated either in the same feeding or in successive feedings, but it was customary for the child to suck from both breasts the very first time it nursed.

Until the mother is up and about, she nurses the baby lying down with the child lying beside her and turned toward her. Later the mother sits supporting the infant with one or both arms. The observer gets the impression that both mother and child are comfortable in position and relaxed. During the first

8. Broth or soup is fed in large amounts to mothers who lack sufficient milk. Plants, ground rocks, and other magical remedies are also rubbed on the breasts. Some informants stated that in cases of too much milk the husband would suck some, but we have never verified this by observation or recent eyewitness testimony.

month the baby usually nurses while swaddled tightly but about once out of every six times the clothes are loosened, or partially or wholly removed.

In only one case studied by us was the infant fed entirely by bottle, and this was when the mother died shortly after birth. In four cases there were supplementary feedings by bottle during the first month (and/or later) and in two cases, where the family had no bottle available, warm milk was squeezed into the mouth from a rag. Wide mouth bottles and red rubber nipples seem to be preferred (possibly because of their resemblance to the breast?). Babies fed by bottle are held on the lap with the face turned toward the mother's breast and the bottle held horizontally—probably to imitate the conditions of breast feeding as closely as possible. A little sugar and varying amounts of water are usually mixed with the goat's or sheep's or canned milk. The bottle is heated in a can of hot water kept on the fire. One family gave an infant a little orange juice every day.

The navel region is gently washed each day, and often a little grease is applied. When the cord dries, and the navel is completely healed, the cord is carefully buried in a propitious place. For a girl this may be under a weaving loom, so that she may become a good weaver. For a boy, a horse corral is an appropriate place. There is much other folk belief connected with the navel cord. For example, the Navaho say that, if the cord be kept in a sack in the hogan, the child will grow up to be a thief.

Twelve male babies whom it was possible to weigh within twelve hours of birth averaged a trifle over 7 pounds, and the heaviest weighed only 7 pounds, 5 ounces. Ten female babies averaged 6 pounds, 10 ounces. (There was no evidence that any child was premature.) A few weighings indicate that the familiar pattern of loss of weight after birth and gradual regaining obtains equally for the Navaho under the same nutritional conditions. For twenty-three babies measured within three days of birth the following are the average dimensions: length: 48.4

cm.; sitting height: 30.9 cm.; chest: 31.5 cm.; abdomen: 30.5 cm.; head circumference: 34 cm.

Tests in 1940 on twelve well infants eight and nine days old for the Moro Startle Response showed no Startle Responses lasting more than twenty-one seconds and only three lasting between ten and twenty-one. Tests on removing the nipple and general observation of the intensity and tempo of movement indicated that three or possibly four children belonged in the Moderately Active group and the remainder in the Quiet group, according to the standards developed by Margaret Fries on New York City children.⁹

MONTHS TWO AND THREE

After about four weeks the child is put onto a cradle board. Sometimes this occurs earlier—as soon as the cord has fallen off and the navel completely healed. The permanent cradle represents a considerable expenditure of labor and, since the cradle will be thrown away if the child dies in it, the family does not wish to risk putting the child into the cradle until the chances for its survival are good. Another factor is the mother's desire for movement. So long as the baby is shifted merely from one hut or windbreak to another nearby, the wrappings of cloth and sheepskin serve very well. But if the mother wishes to go to the trading store or to visit relatives she must take the baby with her on horseback or wagon and for this the protection of the permanent cradle is thought necessary. The same cradle may be used for a succession of brothers and sisters if all have lived, but the cradle is painted afresh with red ochre for each new occupant.

The permanent cradle is not made casually, although these days one sees a few for which boxes or store boards are used. The cradle is ordinarily made by the father from a pine tree which has not been struck by lightning nor badly broken by wind nor

9. Cf. Fries, M. E. and Lewi, B. Interrelated Factors in Development. *Amer. J. Orthopsych.*, 8, 1938, 727.

rubbed against by a bear. The tree should be tall and straight, likely to live for many years, and located in a secluded spot where the chances of its being cut down are not great. The bottom board or boards should be split off the east side of the pine. Before doing so the father sprinkles the tree with pollen and says a brief prayer.

The board proper contains one or more small holes in the lower part to allow for the drainage of urine. Sometimes this bottom is made of two boards tied together so as to form a trough-like cradle instead of a perfectly flat one. At the top is placed a narrow padded strip as a pillow. Over this is arched a wooden hood one-and-a-half to three inches wide which clears the child's forehead by some inches. To the bottom is lashed a foot-rest. There are varying sets of holes toward the bottom of the board so that the cradle can be lengthened as the baby grows taller.

Tassels of fringed buckskin in the upper corners of the cradle are seen less and less frequently today, but a turquoise setting or bead for a boy and a white shell for a girl are still prevalent forms of decoration. A squirrel tail is often fastened to the cradle because young squirrels fall without injury. Buckskin pouches with amulets and herbal medicines are also attached for magical protection. The pouches contain various plants and pollens, but one of the most common is pollen that has been shaken over the feathers of a nighthawk. This bird sits quietly on its nest all day long and is not easily alarmed by noises or movements. The Navaho feel therefore that pollen that has touched it will cause children to be contented during the daytime and to sleep soundly at night.

Within the cradle the baby is wrapped tightly in a number of cloths as he has been during the pre-cradle period. Sometimes the two legs are separated and each tightly encased. The child is strapped to the cradle by means of a lacing cord which is passed

in zigzag fashion between cloth or buckskin loops attached to the sides of the board and is finally fastened through a loop on the footboard. A cloth is attached to the top and, resting on the hood, can be lowered to cover the whole cradle and keep out light, flies, and cold (and probably oxygen as well). Except in the case (sometimes) of babies under six weeks or two months, the head is not strapped and the baby can freely move this part of its body.

The cradle is a strong focus of Navaho sentiments. A young man or woman will point proudly to one still hanging in their parents' hogan and say "That is the cradle in which I grew up." This pride from individual association is heightened by its mythological background. The first cradles were made for the Hero Twins, the sons of one of the principal Navaho divinities, Changing Woman. The earth gave the bottom boards; the hood was made from a rainbow, the foot-rests of sunbeams, the side loops were of sheet lightning and the lacings of zigzag lightning.

A soft and ample pad of cloths, cliff-rose bark, or folded blanket is placed back of the child's head to prevent undue flattening. This raised pad is in the form of a hollow triangle (open at the top side). It is supposed to keep the baby's neck straight and to make the neck grow long, but the main point is that the hollow within the pad allows the back of the head to get round. A very flat head is not admired, and a grown child will sometimes openly blame his mother for not taking precautions to prevent this. If the mother carries the cradled baby too much on horesback a flattened back of the head is believed to result.

The proportion of each day that the baby spends tightly laced in his cradle varies with his age and with the temperament and situation of the mother. If she has older children to assist her in household tasks, she is likely to keep the child out of the cradle for longer intervals than a mother who must do all the

work of the household as well as care for the baby. However, since healthy babies sleep most of the time in the early months and do not need to be removed from the cradle for nursing, they can be and often are left there most of the time except when they are bathed or when the cloths which serve as diapers are changed. However, if the mother does take the child out of the cradle for nursing, she usually holds it for ten to twenty minutes after it has finished, unless it has gone to sleep. Babies of two to three months average about two and three-quarters hours daily out of the cradle, but some have as much as five hours and others (on some days) as little as one. In addition to these times of full release from the cradle, the child's arms may be unpinioned for free movement two or three times a day for varying intervals—especially when the temperature is warm.

Children of this age nurse a little more frequently during the day than they did during the first month. The average number of times is eleven with a range from seven to twenty-five (in babies of average health). Duration of nursing does not differ significantly from the first month. They cry somewhat more frequently, but are likely to have to wait a little longer for a response. They are rocked more often as they get older and sleep less. A daily bath is not given quite as scrupulously as during the first month. The children are talked to in a somewhat more personal way as they come to recognize individuals and to respond.

All the elders make a great fuss over each succeeding event in motor development. This seems to follow the same general pattern as with white children. At least the ranges are about the same. The averages (especially for certain later developments such as walking) appear to be a bit later. All figures given in this paper on motor development are to be taken as rough approximations. There has not been time for the careful checking which has gone into other statistics, and a separate paper on this topic will be published later.

MONTHS FOUR TO TWELVE

From an objective point of view the features of this period are: more or less the ordinary course of human motor development, a greater proportion of time out of the cradle, gradually increasing ingestion of goods other than milk, accelerating frequency of nursing, and the growth of the symbolic significance of nursing.

Although tied to the cradle during part of their waking hours each day, Navaho children nevertheless get some chance to explore their bodies and other individuals with their hands, to move their limbs, to try out their muscular equipment in a variety of ways. Apparently this limited practice is sufficient because there seems to be comparatively little difference between Navaho and white children in the ages at which motor skills are developed though the relevant figures have not yet been fully analyzed. With both there is, of course, considerable individual variation.

The Navaho say that a child sits up when it has two teeth. The average of fifty-one cases for sitting with slight support is 4.2 months, of forty-eight cases it is 5.3 months for sitting alone. By five months or a little later children will also reach for and grasp things and put their feet in their mouths. As they acquire teeth they have the same need for things to chew on as do our children. Bones, beads, and other hard objects are freely given them. Thumb-sucking is very rare, and we have never observed "obsessive" thumb-sucking or a child asleep with its thumb in its mouth. When excited or disturbed, a child will not infrequently put the index or some other finger in its mouth. Occasionally the mother will put a baby's whole fist in its mouth to quiet it. Sometimes a mother will also pacify a small baby by putting her own finger in its mouth.

Scotting while sitting on the buttocks may start at seven months, but the average date is about seven and three-quarters. Creeping starts as early as eight months, but the average is

nearly ten. At eight to nine months most babies will stand when supported under the arms (two cases were observed at a little less than seven months), and some will raise themselves to a standing position. At about ten to twelve months they will walk when led, and the first independent steps usually come from two to six months later. These signs of development are aided and encouraged, but the child is under much less pressure to hurry up and walk than white children, and the Navaho mother counts it no disgrace that the child takes his time to grow up.

Of one feature of development the Navaho make a little ceremony. The first laugh is eagerly watched for. The person who sees it first must give a present to each other member of the family. When visitors come to the hogan it is polite for them to enquire "Has the baby laughed yet?" The ceremony consists in the mother's holding the baby's hands out straight while some member of the family (usually a brother or sister) puts a pinch of salt and bread and meat on each hand. Today store candy is sometimes used. The food is then immediately taken away—"so that the baby will learn not to be selfish." The father or mother then kills a sheep and distributes this to relatives along with a bit of salt for each piece. The Navaho say:

"If you don't do this to the baby, he won't feel very good, he won't be very healthy. If you do that, he'll be healthy from that day on. He will sit up right away and pretty soon he'll start talking without any trouble."

The hours spent in the cradle steadily diminish as the child grows older. Some families put the baby in the cradle relatively little after he is able to sit up—mainly for traveling and for protection at night. Other families take the onset of crawling or scooting as a signal for freeing the child from the cradle almost all of the day. But conservative Navaho opinion insists that the cradle is the normal place for the infant until he can walk independently. As one old-fashioned mother said:

"Babies are kept that way in the cradle to make them

straight and strong. Some women let their children lie on sheepskins and roll about, but they are always weak, sick children."

Children of six months average 4.2 hours daily out of the cradle, those of nine months 5.8, those of eleven months 9.3 (a good many children of this age are out of the cradle entirely). Younger children out of the cradle are held in the arms or lap of the mother or some other relative or are allowed to lie on a pile of skins or blankets to kick freely. Those who can scoot or crawl are permitted to move about on the floor of the hut for brief periods so long as someone is able to keep an eye on them so that they do not get too near the fire.

Especially from the time a baby is able to sit up, it is offered any and all foods available that can be eaten with its equipment of teeth. Bread dipped in broth or coffee, canned tomatoes, fruit, rice, cooked cereal, soft store cookies, and squash are usually among the first solid foods in a baby's experience. Bones, bits of pork rind, and pieces of meat to suck on are also commonly given the child from the time its teeth begin to appear. Gradually the child is taught to use a cup or bowl instead of a bottle—with weak, heavily sweetened coffee as the inducement. Squash, bits of potato, pieces of softened meat are fed with a spoon, and the child is encouraged to hold the spoon himself.

The Navaho formula continues to be: "Feed a child whenever it cries, day or night. Give it anything that the people it sees are eating if it will eat." Permitting a four-months old child to have as much coffee¹⁰ as it likes shocks most whites. Indeed the practice of letting a child eat whenever it cries seems to most whites bad for the child as well as inconvenient for the mother. But the psychological consequences are probably highly beneficial. Previous to a child's ability to state its wants verbally, others can

10. Since coffee and tea are boiled, they are from at least one point of view the best liquids (except mother's milk) which can be offered the child. It should also be noted that Navaho coffee is almost always very weak.

respond only to its crying or fidgeting. The important thing among the Navaho is that something is always done when the child manifests discomfort or demands attention in this way. It is now generally agreed that among all human beings many of the most deeply rooted aspects of a personality take their form in the first year of life. They are the more tenacious because they are un verbalized. These basic "unvoiced" attitudes grow in large part out of the interaction between the baby's manifestations of his wants and needs and the responses which surrounding individuals (and especially the mother) make to them.

To see what this means in this case, let us contrast certain typical experiences of the white child and of the Navaho child in the pre-verbal period. To the white child, whose feeding and other routines are rigidly scheduled, the mother or nurse or maid (and these are representatives for the entire world of other persons) must appear incalculable. He finds that there are rules of behavior which are above and beyond his needs or wishes. No matter how hard he cries he does not get his bottle until the clock says he should. It seems plausible that many children develop an unconscious conviction that each individual is, after all, alone in life. To the Navaho baby, on the other hand, other persons must appear warmer and more dependable, for every time he cries, something is done for him. If he grabs for a piece of bread he sees his sister eating, it or a similar piece is given him. Each step he takes toward social participation is rewarded. The easier tempo of Navaho life and the fact that the daily tasks of house-keeping are carried on mainly within a single room make it possible for parents and brothers and sisters to give much more constant encouragement to early attempts at creeping, walking, and talking. Few indeed are the moments of its waking hours when the child is alone or isolated from the social scene.

In spite of the gradually greater intake of solid food, there is a marked increase in frequency of nursing during this period. Children of six months average 20.4 contacts with the breast

daily (range: 13 to 42). Children of twelve months average 30.6, and this figure is lowered by the fact that four children out of fifty-six were practically weaned at this period (range: 2 to 87). In part this increase is undoubtedly due to the tendency for the mother's supply of milk to decrease. This is confirmed by the fact that the duration of nursing decreases markedly to an average of 5.2 minutes at ten months. The child approaching a year of age typically sucks only for a short time and presumably does not get much nourishment in any one attempt. Particularly if the mother is undernourished or in indifferent health, the baby will suck fiercely, struggle, and give other evidences of lack of complete satisfaction.

There is, however, considerable evidence that the increased frequency of nursing is also due to the fact that nursing has come to have secondary or symbolic values. The child gets attention, and often obtains freedom from its cradle-prison which gives it a chance to move freely and also possibly greater comfort when the cloth over its head is removed, releasing the child from a too moist air, body odors, and excess carbondioxide. By the time most children are nine months old it is also plain that they find libidinous pleasure in nursing and in handling the mother's breast.

TODDLERS

The child who can walk alone has completely abandoned the cradle, although usually this has been quit (at least for the daytime when not traveling) a little earlier. Certain routines change. The bath, for example, is seldom given more than once a week with a yucca suds shampoo of the hair perhaps once in two weeks. The toddler now runs about exploring his world. He grabs cats and dogs who are so unwary as to permit themselves to be caught. Parents or other elders seldom discourage a child's cruelties to animals. They will often join in the laughter of the other children at a dog's yelp when it is kicked or has its tail

pulled by a baby. Even special tortures such as running a needle and thread through a kitten's ear are tolerated.

The child runs from person to person and is petted by each in turn or consoled if it has met with some small accident. The father will take a toddler who wakes fretful from a nap in the heat and soothe him in his arms. Any older person rushes to the child when he screams after a fall or a slight burn or an ant bite. At the same time the Navaho method is generally to let learning occur through such minor injuries but not to rub the lesson in by further punishment. After the safety of the cradle is gone, the child's principal protection is the presence of elders. But their backs must sometimes be turned, and children learn the realities of fires, knives, and sharp claws through experience. Navahos spend comparatively little time in verbal warnings, in imaginatively enlarging upon such dangers and their consequences and making generalizations. White practice perhaps tends to make some children unduly fearful and dependent. Navaho practice tends to make children better able to look after themselves, as far as the external world is concerned.

Almost all training in the first two or three years of life is delayed, gradual, and gentle. The positive side of child training in this period is mainly a matter of constant encouragement in the acquisition of language and of other skills. Someone is always talking to the baby, giving him words to imitate, telling him especially the proper kinship terms with which to address his various relatives, praising him whenever his random babblings happen to hit a meaningful sound combination or when his imitations are understandable.

Training in the strict Navaho taboo on exposure of the genitals also starts about this time. Relatives are forever snatching down the skirts of little girls and admonishing them not to expose themselves. Older children are held responsible for toddlers in this respect:

"The father spoke sharply to the four-year old when her

baby sister exposed herself to view in 'hitching', and the four year old pulled down her skirt for her. The baby has glorious disregard for such things still."

Less attention is paid to little boys in this respect at present, for until they have fully learned sphincter control they are dressed in pants that are open through the crotch. This slit makes constant exposure of their genitals inevitable (and also makes it possible for the observer to note erections during nursing and at other times).

Except for these restrictions as to modesty, the Navaho take sexuality from the very beginning of life as natural and permitted. They do not interfere with the toddler's exploration of the genital region or with so-called "infantile masturbation". Not only is no attention paid when children manipulate their own genitals, but the mother herself may stroke the naked genitals of a nursing child with her hand. Children not only use their hands freely but also rub themselves against brooms and sticks and indulge in other forms of auto-erotic experiment. This acceptance of erotic pleasure from infancy on may be the central explanation of the fact that impotence in men and frigidity in women appears to be excessively rare among adults.

No fuss is made about food or sleep. The child sleeps when and where he chooses. He eats (of what is available) what he pleases and when. "The baby knows what is best for him", Navahos say. Some of all the dishes prepared for the rest of the family are offered the baby, but none are forced upon him. When the family buy sweets or soda pop at the trading store, the youngest gets as much as he will take—or at least his fair share and usually more.

The youngest child is definitely the kingpin of the household. After he can walk he tends to get progressively less of his mother's undivided attention, it is true. His mother will tell an older child to amuse him, and toddlers are bounced, carried around on the hip, and entertained in every conceivable way by

elder siblings, especially sisters. The following sample observational record suggests the extent to which the baby of the family monopolizes the time and interest of others:

- 2:44 J. (twenty-year old sister) comes from the hut with Johnny (16 months).
- 2:51 J. feeds Johnny some orange juice. She calls L. (sister in her teens) who brings some bread. J. feeds Johnny. L. returns to hut.
- 3:04 J. takes Johnny into hut.
- 3:14 L. comes out the door with Johnny. Starts to help him walk. He cries and she carries him inside. He stops crying.
- 3:34 Johnny cries. L. sits up. Talks to him.
- 3:35 D. (another sister in her teens) walks into hut. Johnny cries again. D. comes out of hut. L. talks to him. Carries Johnny into hut.
- 3:40 L. comes out, sits down with Johnny.
- 3:41 J. speaks to her. She takes Johnny in again.
- 4:44 J. comes out with Johnny all washed.
- 4:47 Ki (brother of four) comes out and talks to Johnny. Plays with Johnny.
- 4:49 Johnny stands up, J. holding, and holds on to Ki's hand who is sitting in front.
- 4:50 Johnny and Ki laugh. Johnny plays with Ki's nose. Ki leaves.
- 4:53 Dan (brother of nearly three) comes to Johnny. He is washed too. Plays with Johnny.
- 4:55 Johnny whimpers. Dan into cardboard with knife to amuse him.
- 4:58 Johnny still whimpers. J. takes him into hut.
- 5:04 J., Johnny, and Ki come out. All go around other side.
- 5:05 All come back. J. and Johnny walk into hut.
- 5:06 J. comes out and sits down and calls Ki. Ki goes and plays with Johnny.
- 5:09 Ki comes out. Sits beside J. and Johnny in front of hut.
- 5:10 Ki gives J. cup of water. J. feeds Johnny.

- 5:11 J. speaks to Ki who takes cup in. J. speaks to Dan who brings bottle of soda pop. J. feeds Johnny.
5:12 Ki brings cup.
5:13 J. feeds Johnny and self. Dan drinks last drops of soda.
5:14 J. plays with Johnny. Lets him walk but holds on. Imitates mourning dove (which sings in distance) many times.
5:16 Johnny throws cup on ground.
5:24 Ki goes back in hut. Helps Johnny walk out. Talks to him. Walks to log.
5:26 L. goes behind hut with Johnny.
5:30 L. comes out of hut with Johnny. Sits by hut door.
5:31 J. comes out and sits too. Talks to Johnny.

According to psychoanalytic conceptions, the Navaho infant has exceptionally favorable opportunities for developing a secure and confident adult personality. Apart from sickness (which is of course responded to), there appear to be only two slight liabilities in the pre-weaning period. Teasing of children of nine months or a year and over is not infrequent—even by the mother. Sometimes it takes mildly sadistic forms, as when a child reaches for the cigarette the mother is smoking and she holds the burning end toward him. There are also delays in the response to crying, even of pre-verbal children. A child of seven or eight months may cry fifteen or twenty minutes during the day before a busy mother picks him up. During the night sometimes soundly sleeping parents are very slow to rouse.

But there is no sudden and harsh attempt to compel the child to control his eliminative activities. Older persons are almost always quite tolerant of displays of aggression (even blows with sticks and other objects) and temper tantrums. When a toddler has something taken from him or fails to get what he wants, he will scream, arch his back, brace himself, hold his breath, and be quite inconsolable until his elders give in (which they do more often than not) or somehow distract him. If a child holds his

breath so long that it begins to get stiff, cold water will be thrown in its face.

White observers often comment that Navahos "spoil" their younger children. They do *indulge* them, but they seldom "spoil" them in the original sense of the word, i. e. to deform or ruin the character. The "spoiled" child is the one who is petted one moment and neglected or beaten the next—regardless of his behavior. The Navaho toddler is given self-confidence by being made to feel that he is constantly loved and valued. Navahos sometimes comment that they spoil the last baby in a family, but here again this must be translated to mean "indulge even more than earlier children".

Nor is it true that Navaho children experience no restrictions. Whites who go into a Navaho hut and see a crawler put into its mouth a lump of dirt from the floor or a cup which the dog has just licked, or see a four-year old sticking a nail through a cat's ear, are likely to get the impression that the words "No" and "Don't" are never used to Navaho children. This is far from being the case. *T'adoo* (equivalent to "stop that") is one of the most frequently heard words where small children are present. Probably there are *fewer* "dont's" than among whites. This is partly because there are fewer prohibitions put upon biological impulses, partly because Navaho life is simpler and there are fewer objects that a child can destroy or be harmed by, and partly because there are no taboos on "dirt" or "germs". On the other hand, the number of "superstitious" taboos which are enforced upon the child are much more numerous. In other words, the number of interferences and prohibitions to the child's activity in the form "I don't want you to do that" is relatively small, but the number in the form "Such and such will happen to you if you do that" is fairly high. If parents are not ultimately responsible for denials and restrictions, then it is no use for a child to try to coax or cajole them. One hears many straightforward requests and even

demands from children to their elders but little wheedling; plenty of crying but comparatively little whining.

Let us now turn from a chronological review to a topical treatment which will include data on children of two years and more of age (all unweaned and recently weaned children).

THE BABY AND THE CRADLE

During many hours of the day and all of the night, the cradle baby's bodily movements are sharply restricted by the cradle. Its position is varied from the horizontal to the upright, but the baby cannot move much of its own volition. There is, however, a certain uniformity of environment when the baby is moved from one place to another—regardless of who does the moving. It is also to be noted that the entire body as an extended unit receives the impact when the child is rocked or moved.

The infant's sensory contacts are also limited by the cradle. It can see well—more than most white babies when its cradle is upright—and of course its hearing and sense of smell are not interfered with. Perhaps the greatest limitation is on the sense of touch. During the many times that the child is moved each day, the hands of the mover do not ordinarily come into direct contact with the child's body, for they grasp the cradle instead. The face, lips, and hands of elders often touch the child's face, and the hands and arms receive a fair amount of direct contact, but its legs and torso are handled only during the brief intervals off the cradleboard. In turn the child has limited opportunity to explore its own body for its arms are pinioned or, when free, cannot gain access to the swathed body.

Thus the infant may experience a fairly full range of sensory impressions through sight, taste, smell, and hearing and a very limited range of tactile impressions. But, when it is capable of moving its body in response to the stimulation from its environment, it is more often than not prevented from doing so by the cradle. The cradle also restricts the baby's response to internal

stimuli, such as anger, hunger, or pain. He cannot kick or wriggle about. He can only cry or refuse to suck or swallow or breathe.

Perhaps this frustration of desire for bodily movement may not be so great as might be expected, for the desire may be extinguished after repeated frustrations. Perhaps, too, such frustration is no more detrimental to the baby than that which results from the painful outcome of freer motor activity, such as picking up a hot coal or being stepped on or scolded for getting in the way of others.

Certain aspects of cradling have obvious survival advantages. The cradle board and the thick swaddling provide a measure of protection against harmful insects and snakes. The heavy canopy, which may be raised or lowered slightly, guards the child's eyes against the direct rays of the bright sun out of doors, and if, when the mother is traveling on horseback with her baby, the horse should buck or shy or fall and the baby be dropped, the hood provides excellent insurance against head injury. After the child has begun to creep, it can be put in the cradle to protect it from getting too close to the fire during occasional moments when all other persons may be out of the hut. In a crowded dwelling where toddlers and older children may be scuffling about, the baby is probably safer in his cradle than on a sheepskin on the floor as the other children sleep.

The cradle is often placed in an upright position after the child has been nursed. White pediatricians have suggested that this habit may help the baby in digesting his food much as being held upright helps the white baby to "bubble". Margaret Fries also suggests that the custom of propping the cradled child in an upright position before he can crawl or even sit may facilitate walking. She points out that the apparatus of balance and vision are then on the same plane as when the child is walking. His legs are kept constantly extended with feet flexed against the foot-board in the position for standing.

In addition, there appear to be important psychological ad-

vantages to cradling. Birth must be an unpleasant experience to the child. In addition to the violence of the birth process, the warmth and complete security of the womb are exchanged for the irregularities of food, alterations of temperature, and other unpredictables of the external world. The abruptness of this transition tends to be cushioned by the cradle—even the tight wrappings of the first temporary cradle. The cradle, like the womb, is a place where movement is restricted, where support is always present, and where changes resulting from movement or from temperature fluctuations are minimized in their effect.

Likewise, the cradle permits babies, who could not otherwise sit up unaided, to assume for long periods a position other than that of lying down, out of touch with what is going on around them. When the weather is warm or mild, and the family is lounging or eating under the trees outside, for instance, the cradle is ordinarily propped against a tree. This means that the child's face and eyes are on about the same level as those of the adults who are sitting near him. In this, as in several other ways, the Navaho child from the very beginning is part of the total society rather than being isolated or segregated from it, "just a baby", as in white families.

Furthermore, at no time is the cradled infant able to interfere physically with the mother or with whatever she is doing. Regardless of her moods, she has little excuse to vent them on him, and the infant has little chance to annoy her. This eliminates a countless number of frustrations from the child and reduces his conflict with the arbitrary emotions of his mother.

One judge of the merits of cradling is the baby itself. We have frequently observed babies crying both to be released from the cradle and to be put back into it. The former predominates with children of six months and more. There is evidence that with younger children the protection (or habit?) of the cradle has a strong appeal especially when the child is sleepy. Many children have difficulty in becoming accustomed to sleeping out-

side the cradle. During wakeful hours, however, children of six months and older apparently begin to feel the confinement as frustration and will wail to be released or at being put back into the cradle. The average age at which the cradle is hung up and no longer used *at all* is 11.6 months (range 8 to 15½ months).

These considerations suggest some reflections upon the behavior of certain physicians, missionaries, teachers, nurses, and other well-intentioned whites who, in their zeal to see the Navaho adopt white habits in their entirety and discard their own backward ways, urge Navaho mothers to "give up those savage cradles and use cribs like civilized folks". It must never be forgotten that any people's way of life represents their set of solutions to recurrent problems, solutions that they have slowly worked out because of their own special historic experiences and the peculiar conditions of life which they have had to meet.

A coherent culture represents a very delicate adjustment between people and environment which has been arrived at by countless generations of trial and error. If it be thoughtlessly and indiscriminatingly interfered with, the disruption and the loss to human happiness and human safety may sometimes be incalculable. The use of the cradle board—*under the circumstances of Navaho life*—is an excellent example of this point.

NURSING

Some details of nursing behavior have already been presented. It remains to note certain variations and to trace the development of secondary functions of the act of nursing.

If the mother is unusually weak or ill after parturition, the baby will be held in place for nursing by some other woman or even by the father. Or the mother, instead of holding the child in her arms, will place it or have it placed by her side and she will turn toward it.

Whether or not the child is taken out of the cradle for nursing depends upon the immediate situation and the mother's

personal preference, but the tendency is for older babies to be removed considerably more frequently than younger ones. If the child is kept in the cradle, a common practice is to lay the board across the lap and let the child turn its head to nurse. When the child is free, it commonly lies on the mother's lap supported by her arm. Older nurslings may suckle standing in front of a kneeling or sitting mother. For young infants the mother will often hold the nipple in position between her fingers. Later she will merely pull up her blouse and put her hand against the child's back. Crawling children will often go up to the mother and mouth the front of her blouse. Walking children frequently raise the mother's blouse themselves.

Babies under six months often urinate or defecate while nursing, and this not infrequently occurs with older children as well. These occurrences are accepted as a matter of course until the child talks or at least responds to words. At most the mother will interrupt the nursing briefly in order to clean her clothes or protect herself with additional dry cloths.

Sometimes the mother sits in apparent passive indifference, but frequently she is active during nursing. She will clean the child's nose or groom its hair or gently tickle its abdomen if the child is out of the cradle. We have observed a good many cases, especially where the children were six months or more of age, where the mother's hand or arm is between the child's legs. Occasional gentle manipulation of the genitals of boys has been observed. Some mothers tickle the buttocks of a nursing child.

Children are very commonly put to sleep by nursing. In this case the mother will often lie on one side facing the child and will gently pat him as he nurses. She remains beside him until he falls asleep. Nursing is also used as a means of distracting a child from some activity regarded as dangerous or improper. If a knife, for example, be taken from a baby who then howls, the mother will present her breast as a means of making him forget the deprivation.

Although in far the greater number of instances, the child takes the initiative in being fed, some mothers fairly frequently put a child to the breast without its crying or fussing or in any way indicating hunger. Sometimes this will be done six or seven times within two or three hours. The only occasions on which we have observed children wakened to nurse were at night just before the family was about to retire, and the Navahos explained this as a precaution against the child's waking up hungry within a short time.

With older children, and particularly with those who walk, nursing is obviously a symbol of right of access to the mother and indeed of possession of her. Often a child will be playing contentedly during a mother's brief absence and will have refused foods eaten with relish when hungry, but will cry and seek the breast briefly immediately on the mother's reappearance. Likewise, a baby who has just been well fed will rush back to the mother's breast if an older child is getting her concentrated attention at the moment. A number of observers have independently commented on the greater tendency of children to cry when their mother was in sight.

The erotic manifestations accompanying nursing are particularly plain with children past a year and a half. There is also no doubt whatsoever that this is seen more often with boys than with girls. The following extracts from field notes of four different observers report nursing behavior (not always demonstrably "erotic") typical of older boys:

"Tony (a boy of twenty-six months) kept fighting for her breast, and half stood up on his feet, bending across her knees to nurse and at the same time manipulating his genitals with one hand and wiggling in a decidedly passionate manner. Presently he fell asleep and she held him on her lap. He woke at intervals and nursed more quietly, lying on her lap while she stroked his hair. Just before we left, he was lying on his back in her lap, when he began wiggling and

fighting for her breast again, and had a prolonged erection. His mother, noticing it, played with him and stroked his penis as he nursed. If she left off, he continued by himself. He seemed very pleased and even left off nursing once to smile at all about him. Finally he relaxed and crawled away, his sister playing with him for a while, and then his brother tussling with him."

"At 9:12 Jake (a boy of two and a half) nursed for four minutes. As he nursed, his mother patted him on the head, fondled his hair, and also patted his lower leg. He nursed greedily and noisily, giving vent to pants of ecstasy. He nursed first on the left breast. While doing this, he fondled the right breast and pulled out the nipple. Then he nursed briefly on the right breast. Now—five minutes later—he is going after the left breast again. His mother at first makes a gesture of protest, then lets him have it. But he sticks at it less than a minute. Two minutes later he is back at it again.

"Having played with each breast again for a few minutes, Jake now dawdles in his mother's lap—is tickled by her and laughs rather hysterically. At 9:45 his mother is lying down. Jake tries to get breast, but she won't have it at first and sits up. He says: 'My mother is stingy.' He cries and whines. After a couple of minutes, she gives him first the left breast. Then he takes the right. She grooms his head briefly as he nurses.

"Between 10:00 and 10:40 Jake was eating constantly: orange, tomato, bread, meat. He sat near his mother and touched her several times. Once she kissed him passionately on the mouth.

"10:40 Jake nurses at both breasts again (three minutes).

"11:00 Jake starts nursing again—left breast for five minutes, right for five. He fondled her breasts as before. Once he appeared to bite a little. When he finished nursing, his mother was asleep. He asked his sister petulantly where his youngest aunt was—shouted the question finally. Then he ran off to find her.

"11:30. Jake returned to nurse the left breast again. At first rather fiercely and greedily with twistings and turnings